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SAN MIGUEL ISLAND:

Its History and Archaeology

By Francis R. Holland, Jr.

SAN MIGUEL ISLAND is a roughly triangular-shaped piece of land about eight miles in length and about four miles across at its greatest width. It is the most westerly of the four Santa Barbara Channel Islands and it is approximately twenty-five miles south of Point Conception.

Ocean currents which swing around Point Conception wear ceaselessly at San Miguel's shores while winds rushing down the ocean whip across the barren island "undercutting the unprotected soil, and sweeping the lighter materials in dust clouds out to sea." Reportedly San Miguel at one time was an island lush with vegetation, but, according to some, the combination of a long drought condition and starving sheep who were forced to strip bark from trees and shrubs for forage, and later to dig out the earth and eat the roots, resulted in there being

... no trace of tree or shrub . . . upon the entire island; vegetation of any kind is sparse and restricted to certain areas."¹

In 1875 a visitor to the island reported it as "'dried up,' being overstocked with starving sheep." A yachtsman visiting the island in the early 1950's described it as "for the most part a gigantic sand dune that is being eroded by the incessant sniping of wind and sea . . ." A few years later it was termed "a barren, windswept place . . ."² D. B. Rogers visited the island in the 1920's. Pessimistic about its prospects, he said,

Under the lee cliffs of the island, one may, at any dry period of the year, find torrents of sand pouring into the sea. There can be only one end to this ceaseless erosion. In the course of time, San Miguel will cease to appear on our maps as an island, and will be charted as "dangerous shoals."³

The strong winds blowing across San Miguel have made the island a pot-hunter's paradise. The action of the wind on the sand exposes various artifacts, so that all that is necessary is for the collector to pick them up. Paul Schumacher, sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution, led the first recorded archaeological expedition to the island in 1875. He noted that the best artifacts had been picked up by stockraisers, "amateur curiosity-hunters," and by William H. Dall of the United States Coast Survey who paid short visits to the island in 1873 and 1874. In 1872 and 1873 W. G. W. Harford, also of the Coast Survey, had obtained at

San Miguel and Santa Rosa "a small but exceedingly valuable collection of interesting objects . . ." which eventually Dall acquired.⁴

On the island Schumacher found an aboriginal cemetery which "yielded about 250 skeletons, and many utensils, implements, and ornaments of stone, bone, and shell." He noted in this graveyard that the skeletons were found in different positions, "and the bones in nine cases out of ten [were] disturbed and displaced." The bones were so close together that Schumacher first thought there had been a mass burial, but the different stages of decay of the bones and artifacts and the position of the skeletons led him to determine "that the graves had been reopened, and the bones disarranged while fresh bodies were being added."⁵

The expedition uncovered a vast quantity of bones and artifacts, even though only four days were spent on the island. Schumacher would have liked to remain longer, but the constant blowing of sand which ruined food, prevented cooking, and caused personal discomfort, forced him to leave and go to Santa Cruz Island.

Subsequent to Schumacher and prior to 1919 there were excavations of the island by Stephen Bowers, Louis G. Dreyfus, and E. L. Doran, but no reports of their endeavours have been located.

In 1919 the Heye Foundation sponsored a six months' dig on San Miguel which exhumed 343 skeletons. Numerous beads and ornaments made of shells and steatite, as well as round doughnut-shaped objects thought to be fishline sinkers, were also found. Implements and ornaments made from bones of the sea lion, deer, and whale were uncovered, as were sandstone vessels and a mortar made from the vertebra of a whale. An interesting find was the remains of a grass skirt. This type of skirt was not reported by early Spanish travelers to the Channel area, but rather is known only through archaeological endeavors in the Santa Barbara region.⁶

The Heye expedition is the last known large one to San Miguel. David Banks Rogers visited the island several times in the 1920's, but he went only to investigate and evaluate the archaeological potentialities of the island. At this time he noted that the southern shore had been unpopular as a residential site, but the other shores, including the whole western extremity of the island had evidently been "for a long period the seats of a very dense population." His investigations led him to conclude:

If all the territory which bears such unmistakable evidence of having been intensely occupied for a long period, was occupied at the same time, we have here the remains of the most extensive unbroken Indian settlement, of which we have knowledge, on the American Continent north of the Mexican boundary. Throughout the entire length of over eight miles, the northern border of the island exhibits only three narrow breaks in the dense beds of debris.⁷



— Photograph courtesy the National Park Service.

RUINS OF GEORGE NIDEVER ADOBE

This 1939 photograph shows the remains of the adobe hut built by George Nidever shortly after his occupation of the island in 1850.

The effects of wind erosion impressed itself forcibly upon him. He said: "In places the relentless erosion had attacked burial plots, removing all of the finer material and leaving skeletons to fall apart, and roll about over the surface." Heavier artifacts, he continued, have become exposed and "have their entire surface more or less honeycombed, as a result of the sand blast to which they have been subjected." The settlement site that runs along the canyon which enters Simonton Cove has had "almost unbelievable havoc wrought" in its remains "through the agencies of erosion." All this erosion led him to believe that,

... it is now too late to work out a consecutive story of the sequence of events that have taken place on this island. Many priceless objects could, however, still be salvaged by a systematic search in the residue which is heaped in masses in the more sheltered parts.⁸

In more recent years Mr. Phil C. Orr of the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History has conducted excavations on San Miguel. He has concluded "that there are about fifty ancient Indian village sites on San Miguel Island 'containing a wealth of archeological information covering the past ten thousand years.' " Moreover, Orr has excavated mammoth bones on the island.⁹ Whether or not these bones show signs of having been associated with early man, as he found on Santa Rosa Island, is not known. Orr has published nothing of his activities on San Miguel.



— Photograph courtesy the National Park Service.

SAN MIGUEL WOOL SHIPMENT

Shipment of wool being hauled to the landing on San Miguel Island in 1939. In the background can be seen the constant shifting sand which has been exposed as a result of the weakening of the island's vegetative covering.

Fifty years and six days after Columbus discovered the New World, two Spanish vessels under the command of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, sailed along the coast of California and discovered the Island of San Miguel. Stormy weather forced them to seek refuge at one of the island's harbors until October 25. While here Cabrillo named the island La Posesion; he had previously designated the islands of San Miguel, Santa Rosa, and Santa Cruz as Isles de San Lucas. Sometime during the week Cabrillo broke a limb: the summary log of the expedition says it was his arm; eye witnesses say that it was a leg. Whichever one it was, it apparently did not bother Cabrillo too severely since shortly after the injury he sailed his ships to a point just north of San Francisco. Here he came about and returned to the island he had named La Posesion, arriving there November 23, 1542.¹⁰

Cabrillo decided to winter on the island. One member of the expedition later testified that "all the time the fleet was at [La Posesion] the Indians never stopped fighting." This testimony does not comport with that of other witnesses who mentioned no belligerence on the part of the Indians, nor the summary log of the expedition which says the Indians of the region "displayed much friendship," nor the accounts of subsequent Spanish expeditions who all found the Indians in the Santa Bar-

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bara Channel friendly and helpful. It is obvious, then, Cabrillo spent a peaceful sojourn on the island; as peaceful, that is, as a dying man could. As a result of the broken limb Cabrillo died on the island on January 3, 1543, but not before turning over command of the expedition to his chief pilot, Bartolome Ferrelo, and telling him to continue the voyage of exploration onward. Apparently Cabrillo was buried on the island. To honor his deceased captain, Ferrelo changed the name of the island to Isla de Juan Rodríguez, and as a result, it was thereafter sometimes referred to as Capitana.¹¹ To further honor the great explorer, the Cabrillo Civic Clubs of California, a statewide Portuguese organization, on the 394th anniversary of his death placed a 40-inch tall monument to Cabrillo on a knoll overlooking Cuyler Harbor.¹²

While on the island the Spaniards noted that the Indians called it Ciquimuymu and that two Indian rancherias, Cico and Nimollollo, were there.¹³

The two ships remained at the island until January 19, when they departed for the mainland for supplies. Stormy weather forced them to sail around the Santa Barbara Channel Islands and eight days later to seek refuge once again at Isla de Juan Rodríguez. Two days later they left the island for the last time to go to Santa Rosa to recover some anchors. During their stay among the islands they encountered vile, windy weather, and at Santa Rosa they even saw snow.¹⁴

Subsequent voyagers in the sixteenth century along the California Coast doubtlessly saw San Miguel, but scant record is left of the sightings. In 1565 Andres de Urdaneta, returning from the Philippines, sighted an island he called San Salvador (Cabrillo's name for Santa Catalina) which was most likely either San Miguel or San Nicolas. Francisco Gali in 1584 did not mention any islands along the California Coast, although he followed it from about Monterey Bay southward. Pedro de Unammo in 1587 sailed along the California Coast from Morro Bay southward, but made no mention of the Santa Barbara Channel Islands. Sebastián Cermeño, in 1595, sailed through the Santa Barbara Channel and stopped at Santa Rosa and Santa Cruz Islands, but only noted San Miguel as being "a small island which runs northwest-southeast."¹⁵

Seven years later Sebastián Vizcaíno and three vessels sailed along the coast of California exploring it thoroughly and touching several of the off-shore islands of Southern California. He sailed through the Santa Barbara Channel, gave it its name and visited several of the islands there. One of his ships apparently anchored at the present San Miguel where the men found "a pueblo . . . with more than two hundred large houses, in each one of which lived more than forty Indians . . ." This is the only mention Vizcaíno made of the island; he did, however, note the island on his chart, but named it Isla de Baxos.¹⁶ The *derrotero* which was

written by two members of the expedition mentioned "a farallon to the north-northwest of [San Miguel] about a league distant which is usually full of seals, and is named the 'Farallon de Lobos.' " A Spanish chart of 1742 shows an island by this name north of an island called San Bernardo which by this time was the name for San Miguel.¹⁷

San Bernardo is the name applied to San Miguel on the Costanso map of 1770; the island called San Miguel is the present Santa Rosa. Four years later Juan Pérez on the *Santiago* called San Miguel, Santa Rosa. In 1792 the English explorer George Vancouver obtained a Spanish chart which gave the present name of San Miguel. Since his charts became the basis for Admiralty charts, which were popular among navigators of all nations, the name San Miguel gradually won universal acceptance. As late as 1840, however, some voyagers still called the island San Bernardo.¹⁸

When the Russians and Americans spread their sea otter hunting activities to the coast of California, San Miguel, like the other Channel Islands, played an important part in the trade. Americans hunted around the islands, as did the Aleuts. In 1832 a group of Americans, hunting under the auspices of Mission San Gabriel, began their tour of the islands at San Miguel. George Nidever, using Santa Rosa Island as a base, extended his activities to San Miguel and Santa Cruz. In November, 1838, Captain John Bancroft, on the ship *Lama*, was anchored off San Miguel while his twenty-five Aleut hunters sought the precious sea otter. A nineteenth century writer reported San Miguel as having been a choice place to hunt the sea otter.¹⁹ It seems unlikely, from the present evidence available, that San Miguel played any smaller or any greater role in the sea otter trade than did the other islands.

In time the island has become a sheep-grazing range. Just when the first flock arrived cannot be determined at present. In 1850 George Nidever purchased the interest "of a man by the name of Bruce who had sheep on San Miguel." Nidever carried over to the island forty-five head of sheep, seventeen head of cattle, two hogs and seven horses. At this time adequate vegetation must have been on the island since Nidever's flock of animals grew in twelve years to six thousand sheep, two hundred cattle, one hundred hogs, and thirty-two horses. The drought of 1863-64 probably signaled the decline of the island. It was evidently a severe drought because Nidever lost five thousand sheep, one hundred eighty cattle, a few hogs and some thirty head of horses. A visitor to the island around 1860 noted the stock placed upon it, but did not feel that the experiment would be successful. The year following the drought Nidever was offered \$10,000 for his interests in the island, but the would-be purchaser was unable to raise the money. Five years later, in 1870, the Mills Brothers bought out Nidever for \$10,000. Nidever said he "had no desire to dispose of the island, but my sons persuaded me to do so as they had become tired of living there."²⁰

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Apparently over the years various people leased the island from the government, principally as a place to graze sheep. The tenure of most of these tenants is impossible to determine. In 1875 an archaeologist reported the island as being stocked with sheep. At the same time shearers were on the island doing their work. In 1882 the Pacific Wool Company leased the island, but it is not known for how long. By 1892 Captain John Waters was the lessee and he reportedly remained on the island until his death about 1900. He was apparently succeeded by John Russell who remained on the island for an unknown length of time. In 1916 Robert L. Brooks leased the island from the Navy. According to one writer, Brooks paid \$50 per month rent on the island during his term of lease which lasted until about 1942.²¹ He was the last to lease the island.

By the 1870's the sea otter was virtually extinct on San Miguel, but other sea mammals were still there, and man exploited them. In 1879, Rogers and company of Santa Barbara sent a group to the island to hunt seals for their oil. During the same decade sea lions were captured there to be sold for exhibition purposes. E. G. Rogers, a seaman along the coast of California from 1875 to 1879, reported a man on the island hunting sea lions. This man had a large kettle set up and rendered the animal's blubber for its oil. During a season he would obtain fifty to one hundred barrels of oil which sold for fifty cents per gallon. The skins of the sea lions were sold for five cents to seven cents per pound. The sex organs of the bulls were sold to the Chinese as a cure for impotence.²²

The high winds around Point Conception have made the vicinity of San Miguel dangerous to shipping. One writer has said, "Adverse currents, sudden storms, and the fogs of the California Coast have claimed so many good ships and their masters by wrecks off San Miguel, Santa Rosa, Point Argüello and Point Conception, that the northern entrance to the [Santa Barbara] Channel has long been known as a graveyard of ships." The number of ships which have gone down in this area are legion, and, inevitably, tradition has a silver-laden Spanish galleon among this number.²³

Over the years San Miguel Island has had its share of unusual personalities. Captain Waters in the mid-1890's proclaimed himself the owner of the island, saying that it still belonged to Mexico. He contended that the island had not been mentioned in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and therefore was not a possession of the United States. When he refused to permit a Coast Survey party to land on the island, a United States Marshall visited the island and showed Waters the order signed by President Cleveland authorizing the survey. How forcefully the marshall made his point is not mentioned, but Waters decided to desist from his claim.²⁴

Captain Waters' example was not entirely forgotten. Nearly sixty

years later, in 1955, four Venice, California, teenagers decided to establish the Kingdom of San Miguel. Before the youths could journey to the island their plot was uncovered by the police. Elaborate plans had been made. A list of needed supplies had been prepared and a constitution had been drawn up vesting sole authority, including the siring of children, in a governor. The police also located their cache of weapons which included a machine gun, shot guns, rifles, pistols, knives, and two sticks of dynamite.²⁵

Probably the most interesting occupant was Herbert Lester. A New Englander and a veteran of World War I, Lester, to escape the cares and stresses of the world, came to the island in the late 1920's as ranch manager for the lessee, Robert L. Brooks. A year later he married his fiancée, member of a prominent family, and brought her to the island. In 1931 a daughter was born to them and three years later a second daughter was born.

The family lived in the large house on the island which had been built near the turn of the twentieth century. They seldom went to the mainland; the daughters, for instance, only visited the mainland annually during their stay on the island. A supply boat brought them necessary food and goods, and George F. Hammond of Santa Barbara flew mail over to them regularly. Lester disdained artificiality and was apparently content in the life of simplicity he led there. The occasional visitors to the island were hospitably received and courteously treated and shown Lester's private museum room which contained Indian artifacts, a whaler's bomb lance, a collection of guns, and several cap and ball pistols. In the enclosed yard were "life boats, Indian metates and other relics, ships' blocks, masts, booms, tackle gear, an old-time locomotive bell taken from an old wrecked ship, ships' casks, cleats, belaying pins, old wooden canons [sic] and all sorts of unexpected things."

As the children grew older it became necessary to educate them. Mr. Lester built a tiny schoolhouse and, with "equipment and standard curricula supplied by the Santa Barbara Board of Education," Mrs. Lester taught the girls. The structure was called the smallest schoolhouse in the world. On their annual visits to the mainland for physical examinations, the girls were examined by the county board as to the progress of their education.

Lester proclaimed himself "King of San Miguel," and apparently led a lonely, contended existence. In 1942 it would seem the cares and strife of the world and the threat of possible eviction from the Navy-administered island momentarily became more than Lester could bare and one day he walked out of the house, gun in hand, and shot himself. He was buried on Devil's Knoll overlooking Cuyler Harbor; a tombstone, supplied by the Army, marks the last resting place of the "King of San Miguel." Shortly after the funeral Mrs. Lester and the girls departed

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San Miguel. They were the island's last residents. According to one writer the sheep were not removed from the island until 1950.²⁶

The house the Lesters lived in on the island was built around 1900. Its construction has been attributed to both Captain Waters and his successor, John Russell. The source of material for the building was various ships which were wrecked off San Miguel. It is most likely that all the occupants of the island contributed something to the final shape of the structure; no description of it exists prior to its occupancy by the Lesters.

The house was V-shaped with the vortex pointed into the strong winds which swept around Point Conception. One side of the "V" is the house and the other side is high fence. Later the open end was closed with another fence to make the structure into a triangle. The original builder reportedly built until he ran out of lumber and wound up with a structure one hundred and twenty-five feet long and fifty feet wide. For windows, portholes from wrecked vessels were used. The house walls on the windward side were double "with a six-inch air space, to resist the powerful gales . . ." To keep the strong winds from sweeping into the house a wooden revolving door was installed.²⁷

In addition to the ranch house, there were also sheep barns. All of the island's structures in 1958 were in a dilapidated condition and many reminders of its last occupants were strewn over the ranch area. The ranch house contained an old stove, rusty bedsteads, and books and magazines scattered about. The barns had harnesses, an old horse collar hanging on a rusty nail, sheep skulls littered on the floor, and the remains of a 1930 Model "A" Ford roadster.²⁸

All these objects serve to underscore the feeling of depression one has about the island. Throughout the literature on San Miguel one is impressed with absence of complimentary adjectives. One is continually running across such descriptive terms as dried up, barren and wind-swept, uninteresting, enormous erosion, and abandoned appearance. The last person to lease the island is reported to have said, "It's a hideous place! I wish the Navy had blasted it out of the sea." Such feelings may not have always existed about San Miguel. Cabrillo chose this island, of all the others, to spend the winter on, and George Nidever apparently liked the place since he was reluctant to give it up. But the combination of man with his livestock and nature with her droughts and strong winds were too much for the island. The island probably would have survived nature's onslaught, but man and sheep were an imposition she could not bear. Once she was a verile maiden giving sustenance and protection to those who did not demand too much of her. Today she lies haggard and used up; a monument to rapacity.

San Miguel was apparently never as important as Santa Cruz or Santa Rosa as a sheep ranch. The figures which are available on the

number of sheep on the island at various times are not too reliable, but they do indicate generally the numbers the island could support. Nidever had six thousand sheep in 1862. In 1919, two thousand sheep were reported on the island; in 1931, five thousand; in 1941, twelve hundred; and in 1944, three thousand.²⁹ When compared with the sixty thousand sheep usually on Santa Rosa, these numbers are almost insignificant.

For several years after the last occupants departed, the island apparently remained idle with the sheep as its only tenants. During the Korean War the island was used by the Navy as "an impact area for aerial bombing." As a result of this activity, the island, at least as late as May, 1960, was "highly contaminated with live ammunition," even though it hasn't been used as a target area for the past several years. The most recent use of the island has been by a private Navy research contractor who has been conducting "highly classified tests . . . in connection with the Polaris Missile System."³⁰

NOTES

1. D. B. Rogers, *Prehistoric Man of the Santa Barbara Coast* (Santa Barbara: 1929), 265.
2. Paul Schumacher, "Researches in the Kjekkenmoddings and Graves of a Former Population of the Santa Barbara Islands and the Adjacent Mainland," *Bulletin of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories* (Washington: 1877), 38; C. M. Bigsby, "Around the Outer Islands," *Yachting*, vol. 100 (Sept. 1956), 57; Charles Hillinger, *The California Islands* (Los Angeles: 1958), 83.
3. Rogers, *Prehistoric Man of the Santa Barbara Coast*, 265-266.
4. Engineer Dept., U. S. Army, *Report Upon United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian*, (Washington: 1879), VII, 34.
5. Schumacher, "Researches in the Kjekkenmoddings and Graves of a Former Population of the Santa Barbara Islands and the Adjacent Mainland," 38-39. Paul Schumacher, "Some Remains of a Former People," *Overland Monthly*, XV, No. 4 (Oct. 1875) is a population account of this expedition. One amateur with extensive collections from San Miguel is Arthur Sanger of Los Angeles who has been gathering artifacts from the island since 1905. See Bigsby, "Around the Outer Islands," 57.
6. George G. Heye, *Certain Artifacts from San Miguel Island*, California, Indian Notes and Monographs, VII, no. 4 (New York: 1921), 35, 38-77; Phil C. Orr, *Customs of the Canalino*, Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History Occasional Papers, No. 6 (Santa Barbara: 1956), 4.
7. Rogers, *Prehistoric Man of the Santa Barbara Coast*, 266-267.
8. *Ibid.*, 267-268.
9. John A. Hussey, "A Brief Sketch of the Archaeology of Santa Cruz Island, California," *Western Explorer*, I, No. 2 (Aug. 1961), 19; conversation with Mr. James R. Moriarty, Scripps Institution of Oceanography, La Jolla, Aug. 11, 1961.
10. Henry R. Wagner, *Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, Discoverer of the Coast of California* (San Francisco: 1941), 12, 23, 26, 55. The eye-witnesses testify that Cabrillo died within twelve days of breaking his leg. If true, the injury occurred shortly before Christmas, 1542.
11. *Ibid.*, 23, 25, 55-56.
12. Isaac Antonio Bonilla, "The Cabrillo Monument of San Miguel Island," *Noticias*, V, No. 3 (Fall, 1959), 11-14.
13. Wagner, *Cabrillo*, 56.
14. *Ibid.*, 56-57.
15. Henry R. Wagner, "The Names of the Channel Islands," *Historical Society of Southern California Annual Publication*, 1933 (Los Angeles: 1933), 18; Henry R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800* (Berkeley: 1937), I, 90; Henry R. Wagner, "The Voyage to California of Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño in 1595," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, III, No. 1, (April, 1924), 17; Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco: 1886), I, 95.
16. Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542-1706* (New York: 1959), 83-90; Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 100.

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17. Henry R. Wagner, "Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast in the Sixteenth Century," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, VIII, No. 1, (March, 1929), 57; Bancroft, *History of California*, I, 106.
18. Wagner, "The Names of the Channel Islands," 20-23; Frederick J. Teggart, "*The Portola Expedition of 1769-1770: Diary of Miguel Costanso*" (Berkeley: 1911), map; Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, *Duflot de Mofras' Travels on the Pacific Coast* (Santa Ana: 1937), I, 190.
19. William Henry Ellison, ed., *The Life and Adventures of George Nidever* [1802-1883] (Berkeley: 1937), 39; Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley: 1944), 110-111, 179; C. M. Scammon, "Sea Otters," *Overland Monthly*, IV, (Jan. 1870), 26.
20. Ellison, *Life and Adventures of George Nidever*, 76-77; George Davidson, *Directory for the Pacific Coast of the United States* (Washington: c1862), 24.
21. Schumacher, "Researches in the Kjekkenmoddings and Graves of a Former Population of the Santa Barbara Island and the Adjacent Mainland," 38-39; *Odyssey of the Santa Barbara Kingdoms and 138 Miles North* (Monterey: 1960), 44; Thomas H. Thompson and Albert Augustus West, *History of Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties, California* (Berkeley: 1961), 258; Owen H. O'Neill, *History of Santa Barbara County* (Santa Barbara: 1939), 363-364; Charles Hillinger, *The California Islands* (Los Angeles: 1958), 85-86; Duncan Gleason, *The Islands and Ports of California* (New York: 1958), 55; Stanley A. Wheeler, "California's Little Known Channel Islands," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, V, 70, No. 3 (March, 1944), 259. Waters it is reported, had a partner by the name of Schilling on the island. See Yda Addis Storke, *A Memorial and Biographical History of the Counties of Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo and Ventura, California*, (Chicago: 1891), 57.
22. Thompson and West, *History of Santa Barbara and Ventura Counties*, 258; "Fifty Years Ago," *Museum Leaflet*, Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History, V, No. 2 (Feb. 1930).
23. O'Neill, *History of Santa Barbara County*, 157; Southern California Writers Project, *Santa Barbara*, 75; Horace A. Sexton "The Wreck of the Cuba," *Noticias*, V, No. 3 (Fall, 1959), 14-17.
24. O'Neill, *History of Santa Barbara County*, 363-364; Southern California Writers' Project, W.P.A., *Santa Barbara: A Guide to the Channel City and Its Environs* (New York: 1941), 75, states: "a personal order from the President finally succeeded in peacefully ousting the squatting Captain." The failure to mention the Channel Islands in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo has not been lost on the Mexicans. In 1937 the Mexican Senate, citing President Roosevelt's good neighbor policy, requested the United States to give up occupation of Santa Cruz and Santa Catalina Islands. They raised the question again in 1946. See *Los Angeles Times*, July 29, 1947.
25. *Los Angeles Times*, July 29, 1947.
26. *Los Angeles Times, Sunday Magazine*, Nov. 22, 1931; *Los Angeles Times*, March 13, 1956; Al A. Adams, "Island Kingdom," *Douglas Airview* (Dec. 1941), 14-15; Southern California Writers' Project, *Santa Barbara*, 75; *Odyssey of the Santa Barbara Kingdom*, 44; Hillinger, *The California Islands*, 84-86. Mrs. Lester was, according to some, accredited as a school teacher and received a small remuneration from the county for teaching the girls. Mrs. Lester states that she returned to the mainland and received an emergency certificate to teach handicapped children. Conversation between Mrs. Herbert S. Lester and the writer, Santa Barbara, March 23, 1962.
27. Adams, "Island Kingdom," 14; O'Neill, *History of Santa Barbara County*, 364.
28. Hillinger, *The California Islands*, 85-87.
29. Heye, *Certain Artifacts from San Miguel Island*, 19-20; *Los Angeles Times, Sunday Magazine*, Nov. 22, 1931; Adams, "Island Kingdom," 14; Wheeler, "California's Little Known Channel Islands," 259.
30. J. A. McHenry, District Public Works Office, 11th Naval District, to E. Robert Anderson, San Diego, May 31, 1960; E. M. Brown, District Public Works Office, 11th Naval District, to James R. Moriarty, San Diego, May 24, 1960; both letters in possession of James R. Moriarty, Scripps Institution of Oceanography.